

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 222354

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 222354

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 222354 SENT ABIDJAN ANKARA

ATHENS BELGRADE

BERN BONN BRASILIA BRUSSELS CARACAS COPENHAGEN DUBLIN GENEVA

KUALA LUMPUR LAGOS LISBON LONDON LUXEMBOURG MADRID MEXICO

NAIROBI OSLO PARIS ROME STOCKHOLM TEHRAN THE HAGUE TOKYO VIENNA

KINSHASA DATED SEPT 18.

QUOTE

CLAS STATE 222354

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 222354 ACTION ALGIERS MOGADISCIO

NOUAKCHOTT RABAT TRIPOLI SEP 18.

QUOTE: UNCLAS STATE 222354

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SUBJECT: TEXT OF MIDDLE EAST PORTION OF SECRETARY'S SEPTEMBER 16 SPEECH IN CINCINNATI.

BEGIN TEXT.

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 222354

THERE IS NO MORE VIVID EXAMPLE OF THE STAKE THAT WE HAVE  
IN THE WORLD AROUND US, AND THE DECISIVE CONTRIBUTION  
THAT THIS NATION CAN MAKE THAN THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE  
EAST.

THE CONGRESS IS NOW DELIBERATING ON THE RECENT EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT. AS IT DOES SO, IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE UNITED STATES IS INVOLVED, WHAT STRATEGY WE HAVE PURSUED, THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AGREEMENT, AND WHERE WE WILL GO FROM HERE.

THE MIDDLE EAST LIES AT THE CROSSROADS OF THREE CONTINENTS. BECAUSE OF THE AREA'S STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE, AND BECAUSE IT PROVIDES THE ENERGY ON WHICH MUCH OF THE WORLD DEPENDS, OUTSIDE POWERS HAVE CONTINUED TO INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN ITS CONFLICTS, OFTEN COMPETITIVELY.

FOR THE UNITED STATES A DIPLOMATIC ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS NOT A PREFERENCE BUT A MATTER OF VITAL INTEREST:

-- BECAUSE OF OUR HISTORICAL AND MORAL COMMITMENT TO THE SURVIVAL AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL;

-- BECAUSE OF OUR IMPORTANT CONCERNS IN THE ARAB WORLD -- AN AREA OF MORE THAN 150 MILLION PEOPLE AND THE SITE OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST OIL RESERVES;

-- BECAUSE PERPETUAL CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST WOULD SEVERELY STRAIN OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR MOST IMPORTANT ALLIES IN EUROPE AND JAPAN;

-- BECAUSE UPEHAVAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST JEOPARDIZES THE WORLD'S HOPES FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY, THREATENING THE WELL-BEING OF THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS AND THE HOPES OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD; AND

-- BECAUSE TENSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST INCREASES THE PROSPECT OF DIRECT U.S.-SOVIET CONFRONTATION WITH ITS ATTENDANT NUCLEAR RISK.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 222354

EACH SUCCESSIVE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS HAS PRESENTED US WITH PAINFUL CHOICES BETWEEN OUR MANY COMMITMENTS AND INTERESTS. AND EACH SUCCESSIVE CRISIS ACCELERATES THE TRENDS OF RADICALISM IN THE AREA, PUTTING GREATER PRESSURES ON AMERICA'S FRIENDS IN THE MODERATE ARAB WORLD, AND HEIGHTENING ALL THE TENSIONS AND DANGERS.

THE STAKE OF EVERY AMERICAN IN PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST WAS DRAMATICALLY AND CONCRETELY ILLUSTRATED BY THE MIDDLE EAST WAR OF 1973:

-- THE OIL EMBARGO, COUPLED WITH THE OPEC PRICE INCREASES, COST AMERICANS HALF A MILLION JOBS AND OVER TEN BILLION DOLLARS IN NATIONAL OUTPUT. IT ADDED A LEAST FIVE PER-

CENTAGE POINTS TO THE PRICE INDEX, CONTRIBUTING TO THE WORST INFLATION SINCE WORLD WAR II. IT SET THE STAGE FOR A SERIOUS WORLDWIDE RECESSION, FROM WHICH WE ARE ONLY NOW RECOVERING TWO YEARS LATER.

-- PARTLY BECAUSE OF THEIR GREATER DEPENDENCE ON MIDDLE EAST OIL, OUR PRINCIPAL ALLIES IN WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN SEPARATED FROM US OVER MIDDLE EAST POLICY, IN THE MOST SERIOUS STRAIN IN OUR ALLIANCES SINCE THEY WERE FOUNDED.

-- THE 1973 CRISIS TESTED THE COURSE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, LEADING US BRIEFLY TO THE VERGE OF CONFRONTATION IN THE OCTOBER 24 ALERT.

THE OCTOBER WAR ALSO SET IN TRAIN MOMENTUM THAT IS NOW IRREVERSIBLE. EVENTS CAN BE CHanneLED TOWARD DIPLOMATIC PROGRESS, OR THEY CAN PULL US HEADLONG TOWARDS ANOTHER WAR.

THIS IS WHY THE UNITED STATES SINCE OCTOBER 1973 HAS BEEN ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN PROMOTING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE DIFFICULTIES. THE MIDDLE EAST HAS SEEN MORE THAN ITS SHARE OF DASHED HOPES AND DISAPPOINTMENT. BUT PROGRESS DEPENDS CRUCIALLY--EVEN DECISIVELY--ON THE UNITED STATES. TIME AND AGAIN, THE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 222354

PARTIES HAVE TURNED TO US FOR MEDIATION. TIME AND AGAIN WE HAVE ACCEDED TO THESE REQUESTS BECAUSE WE ARE CONVINCED THAT STAGNATION INVITES DISASTER. THE NEXT MIDDLE EAST WAR WILL POSE GREATER RISKS, COMPLEXITIES AND DANGERS AND CAUSE MORE DISLOCATIONS THAN ANY PREVIOUS CONFLICT.

WHAT, THEN, HAS BEEN OUR APPROACH?

FOR NEARLY THREE DECADES IT WAS AXIOMATIC THAT ALL ISSUES PERTAINING TO ALL THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED HAD TO BE ADDRESSED COMPREHENSIVELY: THE FINAL FRONTIERS OF ISRAEL AND THE RECIPROCAL GUARANTEES OF PEACE OF THE ARAB STATES, THE FUTURE OF THE PALESTINIANS, THE STATUS OF JERUSALEM, AND THE QUESTION OF INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES SHOULD ALL BE CONSIDERED TOGETHER.

BUT FOR 30 YEARS IT PROVED NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE EVEN TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION. EVERY ATTEMPT TO DISCUSS A COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION FAILED -- FROM THE PARTITION PLAN, TO THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE, TO THE ROGERS PLAN, AND THE FOUR POWERS TALKS OF 1969 AND 70, TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL DELIBERATIONS. TO DISCUSS SIMULTANEOUSLY ISSUES OF SUCH COMPLEXITY, BETWEEN COUNTRIES WHOSE

DEEP MUTUAL MISTRUST REJECTED EVEN THE CONCEPT OF COMPROMISE, WAS FUTILE UNTIL A MINIMUM OF CONFIDENCE HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED. IN THE LONG HISTORY OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, IT IS A NEW AND RELATIVELY RECENT DEVELOPMENT THAT OPINION IN THE ARAB WORLD HAS BEGUN TO THINK IN TERMS OF RECOGNIZING A SOVEREIGN ISRAEL, AND THAT ISRAEL HAS BEGUN TO SEE PEACE AS A TANGIBLE GOAL RATHER THAN A DISTANT DREAM.

THE UNITED STATES THEREFORE CONCLUDED THAT INSTEAD OF SEEKING TO DEAL WITH ALL PROBLEMS AT ONCE WE SHOULD PROCEED STEP BY STEP WITH THE PARTIES PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE AND ON THE ISSUES WHERE SOME ROOM FOR MANEUVER SEEMED POSSIBLE. WE BELIEVED THAT ONCE THE PARTIES BEGAN A NEGOTIATING PROCESS, THEY WOULD DEVELOP A STAKE IN SUCCESS. SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS MORE EASILY NEGOTIABLE WOULD BUILD MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. ON EACH SIDE A SENSE WOULD GROW THAT NEGOTIATIONS COULD PRODUCE BENEFITS AND THAT AGREEMENTS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 222354

WOULD BE KEPT -- AGREEMENTS THAT COULD BECOME BUILDING BLOCKS FOR A FINAL PEACE.

ULTIMATELY WE EXPECTED THAT THE STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS WOULD BRING ABOUT, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE BASIC POLITICAL CONDITIONS NEEDED FOR THE OVERALL SETTLEMENT CALLED FOR BY SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338. THIS REMAINS OUR GOAL.

PROGRESS SINCE THE OCTOBER WAR HAS BEEN WITHOUT PRECEDENT SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 LAUNCHED A NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND THE FIRST GENEVA CONFERENCE. AGREEMENTS TO SEPARATE THE OPPOSING FORCES AND ESTABLISH UN BUFFER ZONES TO STRENGTHEN THE CEASEFIRE WERE SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATED BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL IN JANUARY 1974 AND BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL IN MAY 1974.

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES WAS CRUCIAL IN HELPING THE PARTIES REACH THESE AGREEMENTS. IT REFLECTED THE FACT THAT ONLY WE HAD DEVELOPED STRONG RELATIONSHIPS OF TRUST WITH ALL PARTIES. MAJOR ARAB COUNTRIES THAT BROKE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES IN 1967 MOVED IN 1973 AND 1974 TO RESTORE THEIR TIES WITH US, CREATING A NEW CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE AND THEREBY THE CONDITIONS FOR PROGRESS. AND OUR TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP WITH ISRAEL HAS BEEN REINFORCED IN THE CRUCIBLE OF CRISIS AND THE LONG MONTHS OF CLOSE ASSOCIATION IN NEGOTIATIONS.

THE MOMENTUM OF PROGRESS WAS INTERRUPTED IN THE SUMMER AND FALL OF 1974: FIRST BY OUR PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION; THEN BY THE DECISION OF THE ARAB SUMMIT AT RABAT WHICH

MADE NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE WEST BANK IMPOSSIBLE.

WHEN NEGOTIATIONS WERE RESUMED IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR, THEY FIRST ENDED IN DEADLOCK. WE THEREFORE REEXAMINED OUR APPROACH ASKING WHETHER WE SHOULD CONTINUE THE STEP-BY-STEP STRATEGY OR MOVE DIRECTLY TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH. THE IMMINENT CRISIS WE FEARED AS A RESULT OF THE MARCH DEADLOCK DID NOT MATERIALIZE -- ALMOST SOLELY BECAUSE EVERYONE EXPECTED THAT THE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 222354

UNITED STATES, IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, WOULD RESUME ITS EFFORT.

THE PRESIDENT CONSULTED WIDELY -- WITH CONGRESSIONAL AND CIVIC LEADERS, WITH OUR AMBASSADORS FROM THE AREA, AND WITH THE MIDDLE EAST PARTIES. HE MET WITH KING HUSSEIN, PRESIDENT SADAT, PRIME MINISTER RABIN, AND SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KHADDAM. WE BENEFITTED FROM THE VIEWS OF THE NEW SAUDI LEADERSHIP WHICH IS CONTINUING THE POLICY OF THE HIGHLY RESPECTED LATE KING FAISAL.

THE PRESIDENT CONCLUDED THAT THE TIME WAS STILL NOT RIP FOR A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH. IN THE WAKE OF AN APPARENT FAILURE, THE INTRACTABILITY OF THE ISSUES WOULD ONLY BE COMPOUNDED BY THEIR BEING COMBINED. BRINGING ALL THE PARTIES, INCLUDING THE MOST IRRECONCILABLE, TOGETHER IN ONE DRAMATIC PUBLIC NEGOTIATION WAS AN INVITATION TO A DEEPENED STALEMATE. THIS COULD DISCREDIT THE WHOLE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION AND CREATE A SLIDE TOWARDS WAR. IT WAS WIDELY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE MOMENTUM OF DIPLOMATIC PROGRESS HAD TO BE RESTORED BEFORE GENEVA WAS CONVENED TO CONSIDER THE BROADER ISSUES.

THEREFORE, AT THE REQUEST OF BOTH SIDES THE UNITED STATES RESUMED ITS STEP-BY-STEP EFFORT. THE RESULT WAS THE NEW AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL WHICH WAS SIGNED IN GENEVA ON SEPTEMBER 4.

THE AGREEMENT IS FAIR AND BALANCED.

-- TERRITORIALY, IT PROVIDES FOR WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM THE EASTERN COAST OF THE GULF OF SUEZ AND FROM THE STRATEGIC SINAI PASSES. EGYPT RECOVERS A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF ITS TERRITORY, INCLUDING THE ECONOMICALLY IMPORTANT OIL FIELDS.

--MILITARILY, THE AGREEMENT REAFFIRMS THE CEASEFIRE. IT WIDENS THE BUFFER ZONE AND EXTENDS THE LIMITATIONS OF FORCES THAT WERE NEGOTIATED IN THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 1974. THESE BALANCED PROVISIONS MARKEDLY REDUCE THE DANGER OF SURPRISE ATTACK THAT FIGURED CENTRALLY IN THE WARS OF 1967 AND 1973.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 222354

-. POLITICALLY, THE AGREEMENT -- WHICH REMAINS IN FORCE UNTIL IT IS SUPERSEDED BY ANOTHER ONE -- COMMITS BOTH SIDES TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT, AND TO REFRAIN FROM USE OR THREAT OF FORCE OR OF MILITARY BLOCKADE. IT PERMITS NON-MILITARY ISRAELI CARGOES TO GO THROUGH THE NEWLY REOPENED SUEZ CANAL.

BOTH PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND PRESIDENT SADAT HAVE HAILED THE AGREEMENT AS A POSSIBLE TURNING POINT. IT REPRESENTS THE MOST FAR-REACHING PRACTICAL TEST OF PEACE -- POLITICAL, MILITARY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL -- IN THE HISTORY OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. FOR THE FIRST TIME, ISRAEL AND AN ARAB STATE HAVE TAKEN A STEP, NOT JUST TO HALT FIGHTING OR TO DISENTANGLE THE FORCES BUT TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF FUTURE WAR AND TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT. THE EFFORT THAT WENT INTO IT AND THE INHIBITIONS THAT BOTH SIDES HAD TO OVERCOME REFLECT A SERIOUS DETERMINATION TO END A GENERATION OF VIOLENCE. AND BOTH SIDES HAVE AFFIRMED THAT THE AGREEMENT IS A SIGNIFICANT STEP IN A PROCESS THAT MUST BE CONTINUED TOWARD A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE.

TH ACHIEVEMENT OWES MUCH TO THE COURAGE OF LEADERS ON BOTH SIDES. PRESIDENT SADAT AND HIS GOVERNMENT MOVED EGYPT ON THE PATH OF MODERATION AND DEVELOPMENT; THEY HAVE UNDERSTOOD THAT A POLITICAL PROCESS OFFERED THE ONLY REALISTIC HOPE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ALL ARAB INTERESTS.

CREDIT IS DUE EQUALLY TO THE COURSE OF PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL. ISRAEL'S DILEMMA IS THAT TO OBTAIN PEACE IT MUST GIVE UP TANGIBLE ASSETS SUCH AS TERRITORY FOR INTANGIBLE CONCESSIONS SUCH AS ASSURANCES AND RECOGNITION. ISRAEL'S LEADERS REALIZED THAT ONLY NEGOTIATION OFFERED A HOPE TO ACHIEVE WHAT ISRAEL HAS SOUGHT FOR 27 YEARS -- NEW POLITICAL CONDITIONS THAT WOULD MEAN ACCEPTANCE BY ITS NEIGHBORS, IN RETURN FOR WITHDRAWAL FROM TERRITORY. THEY HAD THE WISDOM TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO START THIS DIFFICULT, EVEN PAINFUL PROCESS.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 222354

THE PRESENCE OF 200 CIVILIAN AMERICANS TO ASSIST WITH THE EARLY-WARNING SYSTEM IN THE SMALL AREA OF THE PASSES IS A LIMITED -- BUT CRUCIAL -- AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY. IT WAS NOT A ROLE WE SOUGHT. WE ACCEPTED IT AT THE REQUEST OF BOTH SIDES ONLY WHEN IT BECAME TOTALLY CLEAR THAT THERE WOULD BE NO AGREEMENT WITHOUT IT AND ONLY ON CARE-

FULLY LIMITED TERMS. WE AGREED BECAUSE FAILURE WOULD HAVE POSED GRAVE RISKS FOR THE UNITED STATES.

IN THE AFTERMATH OF INDOCHINA THE CONCERNS OF SOME AMERICANS ABOUT THIS PRESENCE ARE UNDERSTANDABLE. BUT THE TWO CASES ARE TOTALLY DIFFERENT. THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN THE SINAI IS NOT A STEP INTO CONFLICT; IT IS A MOVE WHICH GIVES ADDED INSURANCE AGAINST CONFLICT. IT IS LIMITED TO 200 VOLUNTEER CIVILIANS BY AGREEMENT WITH BOTH SIDES. THEY WILL BE STATIONED IN A SMALL BUT IMPORTANT SECTOR OF THE UN NEUTRAL ZONE. THEY ARE NOT COMBAT PERSONNEL OR ADVISORS ENGAGED ON ONE SIDE OF AN ONGOING WAR. THEY SERVE BOTH SIDES AT THEIR REQUEST AND COMPLEMENT THE UN PRESENCE FROM SUCH COUNTRIES AS CANADA, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA AND FINLAND.

OUR PRESENCE IN THE AREA IS NOT NEW. INDEED 36 AMERICANS ARE AT THIS MOMENT SERVING WITH THE UNITED NATIONS TRUC SUPERVISION ORGANIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AMERICANS HAVE BEEN SERVING IN THIS CAPACITY FOR OVER 25 YEARS.

THE AGREEMENT PROVIDES THE PRESIDENT THE RIGHT TO WITHDRAW THE AMERICAN PERSONNEL IF THEY ARE IN JEOPARDY. WE ARE PREPARED, AS WELL, TO ACCEPT A CONGRESSIONAL PROPOSAL MAKING THE WITHDRAWAL MANDATORY IN CASE OF HOSTILITIES.

IN SHORT, WHAT WE HAVE PROPOSED TO THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IS NOT AN ENGAGEMENT IN WAR, BUT AN INVESTMENT IN PEACE.

THERE WILL ALSO BE DELIBERATION IN THE CONGRESS OVER MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE PARTIES. WE WILL SUBMIT OUR RECOMMENDATIONS WITHIN A MONTH. THIS ASSISTANCE IS NOT PART OF THE AGREEMENT, ITSELF. INDEED, MOST OF THE ASSISTANCE WE SHALL REQUEST WOULD HAVE BEEN UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 222354

SOUGHT EVEN IF THERE WERE NO AGREEMENT. OUT IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT OUR AID TAKES ON NEW SIGNIFICANCE; IT IS CENTRAL TO OUR POLICY AND VITAL TO THE CHANCES FOR A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL'S SECURITY HAS BEEN AMERICAN POLICY DURING FIVE ADMINISTRATIONS. LAST MAY, 76 US SENATORS WROTE TO PRESIDENT FORD URGING THAT THE UNITED STATES "BE RESPONSIVE TO ISRAEL'S URGENT ECONOMIC AND MILITARY NEEDS." THE ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST FOR NEW ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL IS RESPONSIVE TO THIS CALL; IT WILL REFLECT LONG-STANDING CRITERIA OF ASSISTANCE; ONLY A SMALL PART GROWS OUT OF NEW REQUIREMENTS ARISING FROM THE AGREEMENT.

THE CASE FOR AID TO EGYPT IS EQUALLY STRONG. EGYPT HAS TAKEN IMPORTANT STPS TOWARDS PEACE AND CLOSER RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. EGYPT DESERVES OUR ENCOURAGEMENT.

STRENGTHEN ALL THE CONSTRUCTIVE TENDENCIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE SYMBOLIC AND SUBSTANTIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICAN SUPPORT TO EGYPT IS IMMEASURABLE.

THUS, THE ADDITIONAL BURDEN OF US ASSISTANCE IS MODEST -- INNITELY SMALLER THAN THE DEMONSTRATED COSTS OF ANOTHER WAR WHICH IN 1973 REQUIRED DIRECT APPROPRIATIONS TO ISRAEL OF 2.2 BILLION

DOLLARS IN ADDITION TO THE INDIRECT COSTS. BUT ITS ROLE IS CRUCIAL. IT REDUCES THE INCENTIVES FOR WAR; IT, TOO, IS AN INVESTMENT IN PEACE.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT IS A STEP IN A CONTINUING PROCESS. THE AGREEMENT STATES EXPLICITLY THAT THE PARTIES SHALL CONTINUE THE NEGOTIATING EFFORTS TO REACH AN OVERALL, FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 338.

THE PATH AHEAD WILL BE DIFNICULT. IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, WE MUST BEGIN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EGYPTIAN-UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 222354

ISRAELI AGREEMENT. THIS MUST AWAIT THE DELIBERATION AND DECISION OF THE CONGRESS. WHEN THIS IS SETTLED AND IF THE AGREEMENT GOES INTO EFFECT, WE WILL START OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH ALL CONCERNED TO ASSURE THAT THERE IS CONSENSUS ON THE NEXT STEP. WE WILL NOT MOVE PRECIPITOUSLY, BACAUSE WE WANT CONFIDENCE TO BUILD. WE WILL NOT MOVE WITHOUT CAREFUL PREPARATION, BECAUSE WE WANT THE PROCESS TO CONTINUE TO SUCCEED.

BUT THE EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A LASTING PEACE MUST RESUME. THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT HAS CREATED NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE FUTURE -- BUT THESE OPPORTUNITIES MUST BE SEIZED, OR THEY WILL DISAPPEAR. THE UNITED STATES DID NOT HELP NEGOTIATE THIS AGREEMENT IN ORDER TO PUT AN END TO THE PROCESS OF PEACE BUT TO GIVE IT NEW IMPETUS. THERE CAN BE NO STAGNATION FOR THE AREA REMAINS TENSE AND VOLATILE.

NOR OUR PART, WE STAND READY TO ASSIST AS THE PARTIES DESIRE. WE WILL SERIOUSLY NCOURAGE A NEGOTIATION BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL. WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSULT ALL COUNTRIES CONCERNED INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION, ABOUT THE TIMING AND SUBSTANCE OF A RECONVENED GENEVA CONFERENCE. AND



WE ARE FULLY AWARE THAT THERE WILL BE NO  
PERMANENT PEACE UNLES IT INCLUDES ARRANGEMENTS THAT TAKE  
INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN  
PEOPLE.

THE UNITED STATES SEEKS NO SPECIAL ADVANTAGE IN THE MIDDLE  
EAST. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN OUR POLICY THAT THE NATIONS OF  
THE REGION SHOULD BE FREE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN RELATION-  
SHIPS WITH ANY OUTSIDE POWER. THEREFORE THE UNITED STATES  
WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND AND WOULD BE OBLIGED TO OPPOSE  
EFFORTS BY ANY OUTSIDE POWER TO THWART THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI  
AGREEMENT.

IN THE SEARCH FOR A FINAL PEACE, THE UNITED STATES IS  
PREPARED TO WORK WITH THE SOVIET UNION. WE ARE CO-SPONSORS  
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS THAT LAUNCHED THIS  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 222354

HOPEFUL COURSE OF NEGOTIATION; WE ARE CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE  
GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE WHICH MET AT AN EARLY CRUCIAL  
PHASE. WHILE WE HAVE HAD IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES WITH THE  
SOVIET UNION OVER THE SUBSTANCE OF A SETTLEMENT, OUR TWO  
COUNTRIES HAVE HELD PARALLEL VIEWS THAT THE MIDDLE EAST  
SITUATION POSES GRAVE DANGERS AND THAT PARTIAL STEPS MUST  
BE PART OF, AND CONTRIBUTE TO, PROGRESS TOWARDS A COMPRE-  
HENSIVE SOLUTION.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST THERE IS A YEARNING FOR PEACE SURPASS-  
ING ANY KNOWN FOR A GENERATION. LET US SEIZE THIS  
HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY. THE SUFFERING AND BRAVERY OF THE  
PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST DEMAND IT; THE HIGHEST  
INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES REQUIRE IT.

THIS IS WHY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, THEIR CONGRESS,  
AND THE  
PRESIDENT ARE, TO AN EXTRAORDINARY DEGREE, UNITED ON THE  
COURSE OF OUR MIDDLE EAST POLICY. AND THIS IS WHY WE  
WILL NOT CEASE OUR EFFORT. END TEXT. KISSINGER  
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